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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[547] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the [266] victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7).

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *o inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con- [784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by [386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm [533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and PL. II, c.)

● [553] At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 848 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relationship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ohana* and *vehine*, merely